1: Thurston & Rangachari I,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
AM50 Badaga AM50

463 possess tea and coffee estates of their own. The rising
197 generation are, to some extent, learning Tamil and English, in addition to their own language, which is said to resemble old Canarese. And I have heard a youthful Badaga, tending a flock of sheep, address an errant
871 member thereof in very fluent Billingsgate. There were,
[887] in 1904–1905, thirty-nine Badaga schools, which were attended by 1,222 pupils. In 1907, one Badaga had passed the Matriculation of the Madras University, and was a clerk in the Sub-judge's Court at Ootacamund.

182 A newspaper discussion was carried on a few years ago as to the condition of the Badagas, and whether they are a down-trodden tribe, bankrupt and impoverished to such a degree that it is only a short time before something must be done to ameliorate their condition, and save them from extermination by inducing them to
• (166) emigrate to the Wynād and Vizagapatam. A few have, in recent years, migrated to the Anaimalai hills, to work on the planters' estates, which have been opened up there. One writer stated that "the tiled houses, costing from Rs. 250 to Rs. 500, certainly point to their pros-
426 perity. They may frequently borrow from the Labbai to enable them to build, but, as I do not know of a single case in which the Labbai has ever seized the house and sold it, I believe this debt is soon discharged.
241 The walled-in, terraced fields immediately around their villages, on which they grow their barley and other grains requiring rich cultivation, are well worked, and
527 regularly manured. The coats, good thick blankets, and gold ear-rings, which most Badagas now possess, can only, I think, point to their prosperity, while their constant feasts, and disinclination to work on Sundays, show that the loss of a few days' pay does not affect
181 them. On the other hand, a former Native official on

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AN50 Badaga AN50

for a progressive, educated groom is like purchasing security for one's daughter.

No longer are the wealthiest families members of the gentry. The latter have recently been supplanted by *parvenus* with the ability to wield more influence and political power. These *nouveaux riches*, contractors, businessmen, dealers in illicit liquor[5] and plantation owners, have wherever possible reinvested their earnings in tea or coffee estates and private bus lines. Occasionally, too, this new-found capital has been invested in Badaga-owned businesses in the towns. Another popular type of investment is in sending sons to college, which can bring prestige to a family in a short space of time. Men who obtain degrees in law or medicine are assured a high social position in the Nilgiris, where they usually practise, but those who manage only a B.A. or B.Sc. find it brings some prestige but rarely a well-paying job. Nevertheless, upwardly mobile families wish their sons to take a bachelor's degree and then to settle down in their home villages and farm the land.

Among those wealthy enough to expect or to pay a substantial gift at marriage, fulfilment of their traditional roles in the society can become a problem-laden, anachronistic burden. Such men may command annual incomes a hundred times greater than the average for other men in their home village. As a consequence of this newly apparent inequality the wealthy are constantly plagued by importunate villagers and distant relations, as well as Toda and Kota friends, who try to activate traditional bonds of kinship or friendship so as to grasp their share in the power and influence of the *nouveaux riches*. It is therefore not surprising that the wealthiest Badagas have tended to leave their natal villages and build themselves comfortable houses in a town or in the middle of their tea estates. As the wealth of these families grows and as the possibility of their upward mobility, as modern Indian families rather than Badaga villagers, becomes a reality, their attitudes towards the traditional society and its marriage regulations change. No longer are the requirements of their old culture so demanding or so relevant, for these people are now oriented towards a larger South Indian society whose aims and ideals are for them represented in the morality and the cultural paraphernalia of modern romantic Indian films.

THE NEW FACTIONS

By the end of the nineteenth century there may have been several

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

shifting their cultivation from year to year to new patches of land, grass has been prevented from getting any firm hold on the denuded hill-sides. Only on the slopes of the plateau (which are too steep for cultivation) and in a few isolated Government reserves, does the forest flourish in its virgin beauty.

West of Dodabetta, however, the Badagas are more rare; hardly a field or a village (except the little clusters of huts belonging to the pastoral Todas) is to be seen. (Francis 1908: 3-4)

Let us then see how, against this backdrop, several hundred Badaga therapists have over the centuries developed a unique medical adaptation to a unique tropical montane environment.

Badaga Medical History

1.5. The history of health care among the Badagas is entirely speculative. Nonetheless the history of the community itself is clear enough, and on this framework (Hockings 1979a) we can at least postulate three phases in the development of Badaga therapy (1.5-1.8). This sketch may later prove inadequate, for it is largely guesswork, but heuristically necessary for our understanding of problems connected with the elaboration of a specifically Badaga montane curative system from its roots in a very different equatorial environment at a much lower elevation.

The first phase began after the year 1565 with the fall of the Vijayanagar Empire. It was this political act and the associated Muslim invasion that impelled the initial Badaga refugees to leave the plains of Mysore District and settle on the much higher Nilgiri Massif immediately to the south. These people were a mere fortuitous selection of one or two hundred from those who made up the vast genetic pools of the Mysore castes; but after settling on the hills their patterns of intermarriage were such that they became more like another isolate. Despite a preference for endogamy, though, their pool was repeatedly augmented by the arrival of occasional new settlers from the Mysore Plains who were accepted into the growing Badaga community.

A century or so after these first settlers arrived, some refugees forming the Kanakka clan also came to the Nilgiris. Their special importance lay in the fact that until the mid-nineteenth century the Kanakkas were the only Badagas who were somewhat literate. As

by a Toda of that name. (A much more likely derivation is from male, meaning "mountain" in Badagu.) It was a wasteland of jungles which under the British administration was opened up to tea and coffee planters, and came to be called Wynaad. Badagas also use the term Malnad (mal a·ṛ, in Toda) to include the western slopes and mountainous ridge of the Nilgiri Plateau (cf. Burrow & Emeneau 1961: 314). Because the Wynaad is geographically so isolated from the Nilgiris, the Badagas living there operate a separate and rather different system of village government than that existing on the plateau. (We shall not be concerned with their social organization in this study. They are briefly described in Ranga 1934: 25-28.)

The next largest of these political divisions is Todanad, so named because it is mostly the domain of the Todas. This land lies in the western half of the plateau, immediately to the east of Malnad.

In the north-eastern sector of the plateau is Paranginad, a name commonly shortened to Parangad. This division has relatively few Todas, but a thick concentration of Badagas and quite a number of Irula and Kurumba settlements at the lower elevations.

To the south of Paranginad lies another division with a heavy population of Badagas but very few Todas, Merkunad (meaning "Western District").

Directly to the west of Merkunad and on the southern edge of Todanad lies the smallest of these divisions, Kundanad, generally called Kunda. This is apparently the most recently settled of all the divisions, for it alone is not recorded as a division in the earliest British writings about the Nilgiris (Ward 1821: lxi). The terrain is very hilly there, and it was only in the last century that the pressure for land in the rest of the plateau was sufficient to encourage Badaga

631 colonization of this rather inaccessible area. The recency of its settlement,
(166) when compared with other parts of the Nilgiris, is suggested by the fact that the name of the division lying directly to the east of it is Merkunad -- which means "Western District". It is also common when people are talking about the plateau divisions to use the set phrase, "all the four districts, including Kunda", as though it were somehow exceptional to consider Kunda a district at all.

The fifth division, Malnad, though inhabited by a very few Badagas (or Wynaad Gaudas), Kotas, and -- until 40 years ago -- Todas, is generally thought of by these three tribes as an alien land; and it was certainly not integrated into the indigenous political system in the way that the other four divisions were.

(658) This subdivision of the Nilgiris was taken over by the British for administrative purposes, and continued in use until the early years of the present century, when it was superceded by a redivision of the District into three talukas. The rural inhabitants have however continued to think primarily in terms of their indigenous divisions in matters which involve the Nilgiri-wide social system and its juridical processes.

632 Each of these areas is divided into a number of "villages", usually be-
(631) tween ten and twenty of them. Each "village" in turn consists of a varying number
(621) of neighboring hamlets belonging normally to any one of the six phratries. One hamlet, not necessarily the largest nor even of the highest-ranked phratry, takes permanent precedence and gives its name to the entire "village".

(162) Thus Ketti, for example, is an average-sized "village" in Merkunad with a Badaga population of about 5000. It consists of 17 hamlets, the chief one
621 being Ketti, largely a Gauda hamlet. On one side of this hamlet there are eleven
615 Toreya houses, and on the other side, separated from the Badagas slightly, are

584 fathers of those girls can feel more secure about arranging a marriage with a
(583) family already linked to the hamlet through previous marriages. A reciprocal exchange of women between two sibs -- and specifically between these two hamlets -- thus becomes a more tangible and acceptable pattern of behavior.

583 The intrusion of a demand for dowry into this situation can be an unpleasant change: two families, lineages or hamlets which have exchanged several daughters in marriage have established an alliance which proclaims their social equality. If one side seeks dowry it may rupture the stability they have achieved over a period of several generations; for dowry is taken to imply a kind of social inequality between the two parties. Paying dowry for a progressive, educated groom is like purchasing security for one's daughter.

(178) The reciprocal nature of alliances and the traditions of Badaga marriage are still being adhered to as far as possible. For this reason, if no other, the payment of dowry is supposed to be a "secret", and the recipient of it is still obliged to pay the Rs. 200 honnu. Among those who are wealthy enough to demand
556 or pay a dowry, however, fulfillment of their traditional roles in Badaga society
156 can become a problem-laden, even anachronistic, burden. Some of these men now command annual incomes a hundred or more times greater than the average
(550) income of other men in their home village. As a consequence of this newly risen inequality the wealthy are constantly being plagued by importunate villagers and distant relatives, as well as Toda and Kota friends, who try to activate the traditional bonds of friendship or kinship in order to maximize their share in the power
(166) and influence of the nouveaux riches. It is therefore not surprising to find that the wealthiest Badagas have been the first to leave their natal villages and build themselves comfortable houses in the towns or in the middle of their tea estates.

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)
AW50 Badaga AW50
Kota AW55

CHAPTER VI

NILGIRI WYNAAD BADAGAS AND KOTAS

B 175 166 361 182 [184] B [133] B [132] B [177] B [171] Ko 241 184

The few scattered Badaga communities in the Nilgiri Wynaad have resulted from slow and continuing Badaga colonization which may extend back to a pre-1800 date. The ancestors of Kotas occupying a single hamlet probably came to serve the Todas who once lived in the Wynaad. Although Nilgiri Wynaad Badagas and upper Nilgiri Badagas are culturally affiliated, the occupance patterns related to them vary (Table IV). Several factors are responsible for the variations: Because the Wynaad is covered by a plateau with rolling hills and occasional ranges, topographic conditions are ideal for growing wet rice in broad valleys and dry field crops on hills. The climate is warm enough to permit the growth of wet rice, but too dry for two rice crops to be harvested annually from a single field. Dry seasonal conditions, reflected by estivating trees, also lead to the growth of only one dry field crop per year. Combined with the physical influences are the Malabarian, Malayalee cultural influences. Thus, Badaga house construction, employment of Paniya laborers, garden maintenance, and manner of wet rice cultivation with aid of implements drawn by buffaloes follow patterns associated with their neighbors. Kalac Kotas at Gudalur, who live in atypical houses and have lost their dry fields, continue to cultivate wet rice in the same manner as the Badagas. Nilgiri Wynaad Kota trades are similar to those of upper Nilgiri Kotas.